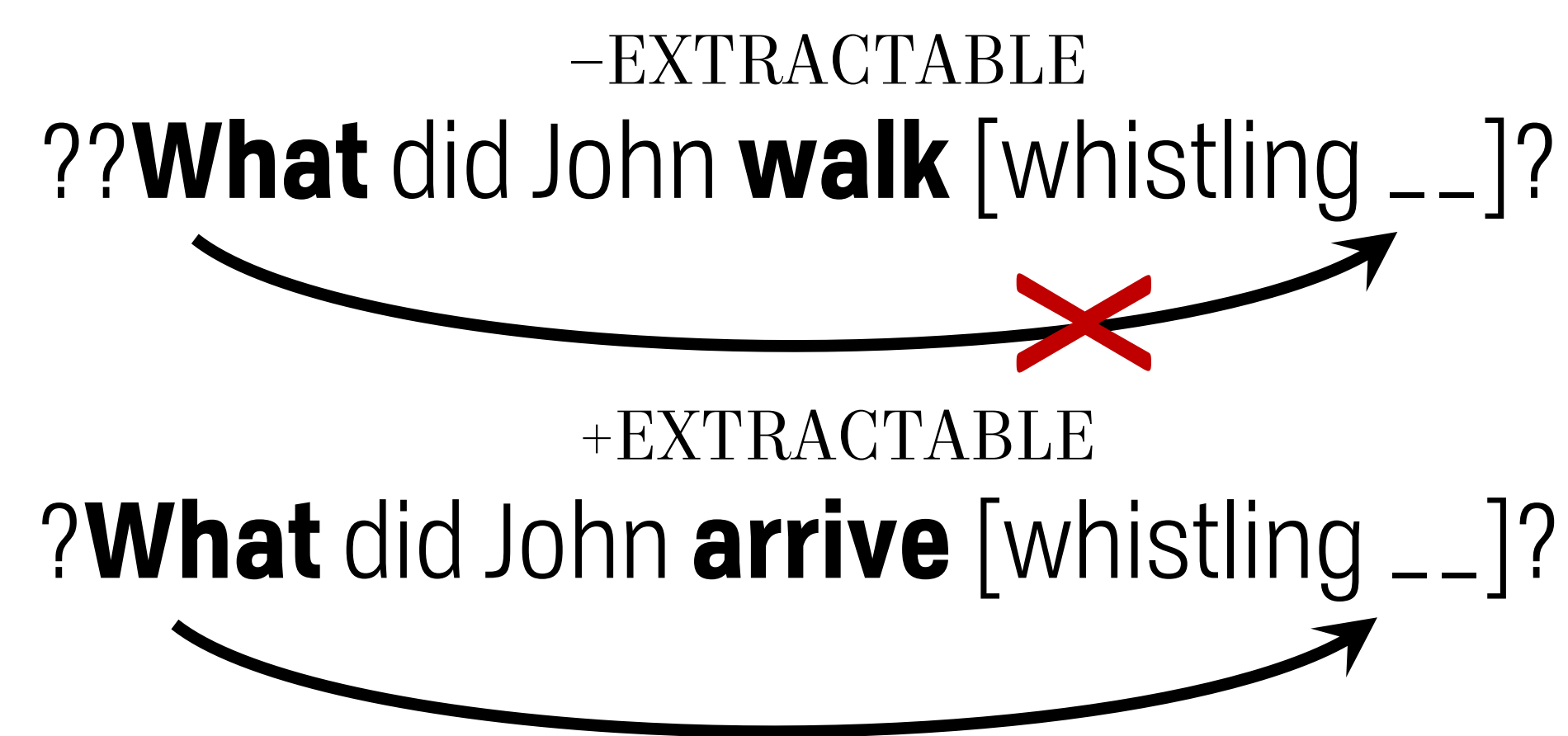


Introduction

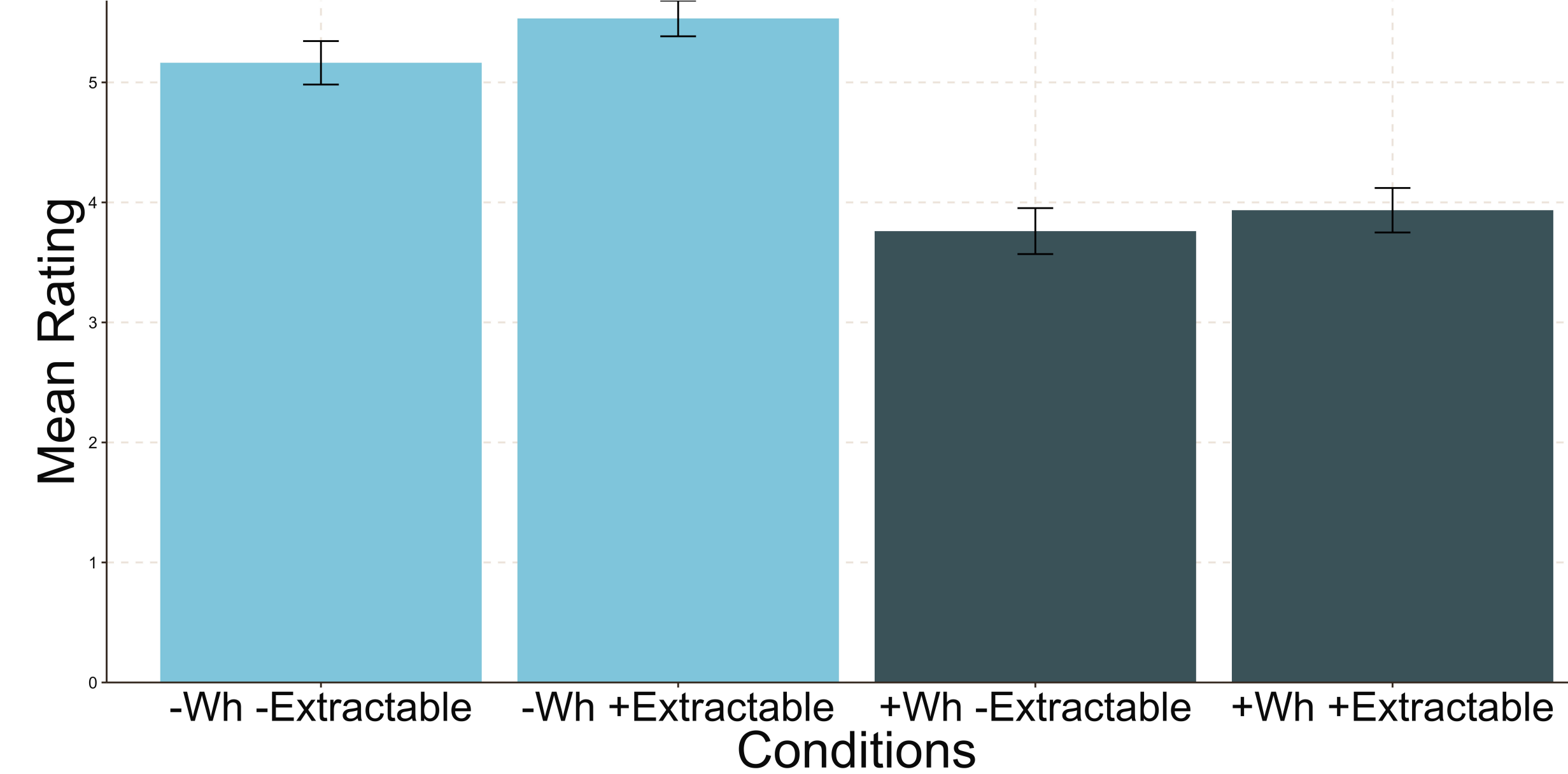
- In processing filler-gap dependencies (FGD), comprehenders actively seek gaps [1,2,3]
- Adjunct clauses are typically considered **islands** [4,5,6]
- Comprehenders typically suppress FGD processing in islands [2,3]
- FGDs crossing into adjunct clauses better if the semantics of the main clause verb can compose with the adjunct clause verb [7,8]:



Q: Do comprehenders form FGDs into adjuncts? Does it depend on the main V?

Experiment 1

Results from Experiment 1



- Main effect of \pm Wh (+Wh, $\beta = -1.39 \pm 0.32$, $t(17) = -4.39$, $p < 0.001$)
- No main effect of \pm Extraction, no interaction effect between \pm Wh & \pm Extraction ($ps > 0.05$)

- Acceptability Judgment Task, 1–7 scale, N = 24
- \pm Wh, \pm Extractable
- 16 items, 16 fillers (50% ungrammatical)
- +Extractable:** 5 "true achievement" verbs; 7 state of location verbs
-Extractable: accomplishments, activities

John wondered { **whether** / **which coffee** } his best friend
{ **arrived** / **worked** } at the office drinking { **some coffee** / **---** }
late this afternoon.

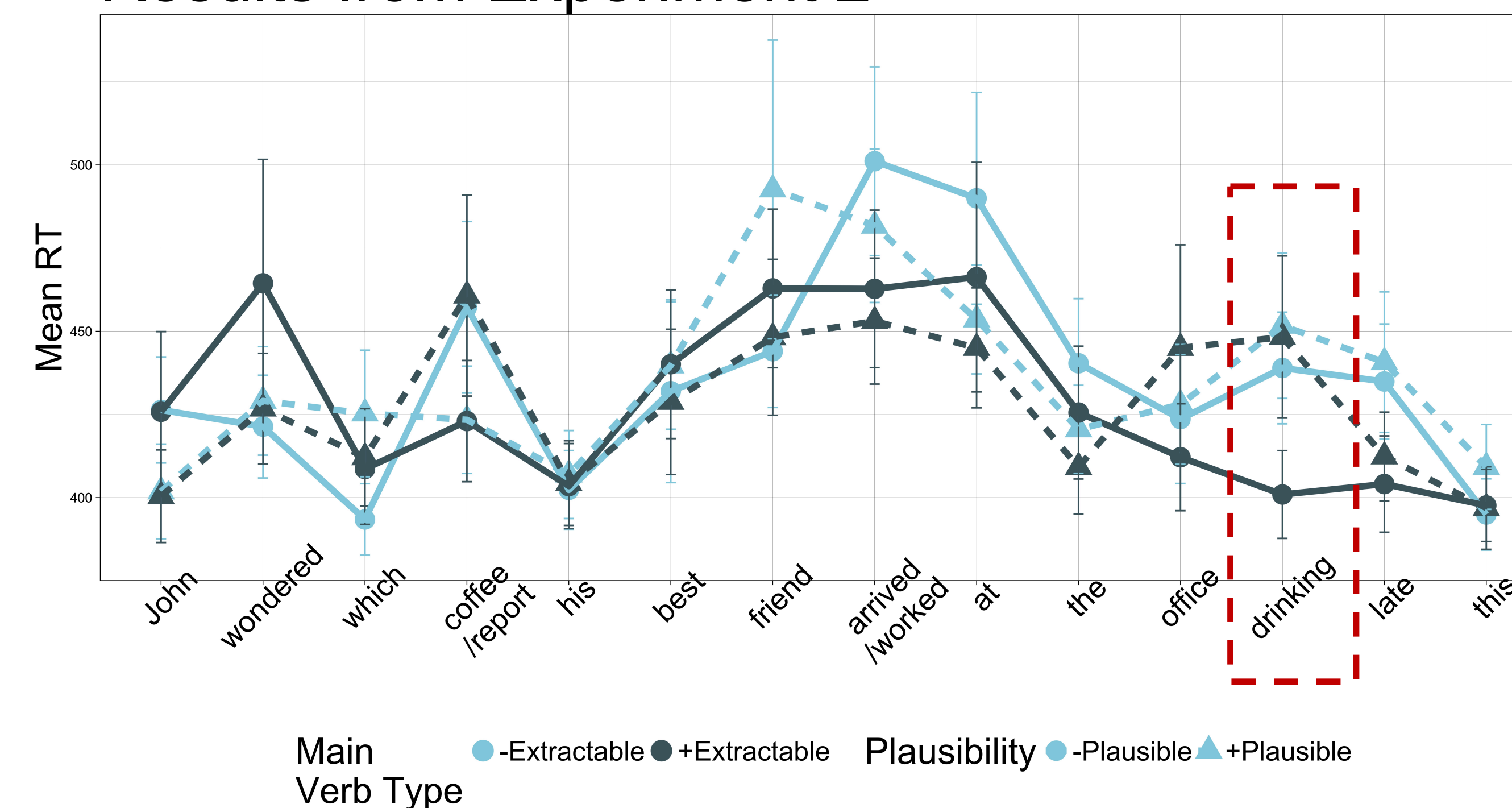
- No evidence that +Extractable verbs license extraction from adjunct clauses

Experiment 2

- N = 47, Self-paced reading task
- \pm Plausible x \pm Extractable
- 16 items adapted from Experiment 1
- 76 fillers; 50% ungrammatical
- Plausibility mismatch [3]
- +Plausible:** Plausible arguments for adjunct V
- Plausible:** Implausible arguments for adjunct V

John wondered { **which coffee** / **which papers** } his best
friend { **arrived** / **worked** } at the office
drinking --- late this afternoon.

Results from Experiment 2



- No significant effects at critical region (*drinking*; all $ps > 0.10$)
- Pairwise comparisons: marginal difference in \pm Plausible manipulations within +Extractable (*drinking*; $t(606) = 1.75$, $p = 0.08$); but not -Extractable ($p = 0.49$)
- We found a **reverse plausibility mismatch effect** – increased RTs for plausibility

Island Status of Adjuncts

Proposal:

- Comprehenders do not **actively** construct FGDs into adjunct clauses – because they are syntactic islands, or possibly low probability gap hosts.
- FGDs constructed in adjunct clause if the semantics of the sentence allows: (A) the adjunct clause and main clause event can semantically compose, and (B) the filler is a plausible argument for the adjunct verb.
- This happens through **reanalysis**, increasing reading times, yielding a **reverse plausibility mismatch effect**.

Outstanding Questions:

- Is extraction from adjunct clauses actually **grammatical**?
- Is there an effect of \pm Extraction? Is it typically difficult to relate -Extractable verbs with adjunct clauses?
(see higher RTs in -Extractable at critical region in Expt. 2)

Conclusion: Semantic constraints allow comprehenders to build filler-gap dependencies into adjuncts "bottom-up"